

# The COUNTRY JOURNAL: OR, THE CRAFTSMAN.

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By CALEB D'ANVERS, of GRAY'S-INN, Esq.

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CATO's Letters and the Writings of the CRAFTSMAN compared.

Hast Thou appealed unto CATO? Unto CATO shalt Thou go?



It is really grown a very tragic-comical Scene, and fills one with an equal Mixture of Indignation and Contempt, to observe the low Shifts, to which the ministerial Advocates are reduced, and how They catch hold of every little Twig, in order to keep Themselves and their Patron from sinking. Having wallow'd in the Mire of personal Slander for more than four Months past, and made use of the grossest Scurrility, that ever defiled Paper, to support their Cause, They have had the Folly at last to trump up CATO's Letters to their Assistance, and recommend them to the World as an Antidote against my Writings. One of Them, in particular, hath ridiculously asserted that CATO's Reasonings against weak and wicked Ministers were not to be employ'd against the present Ministers, nor in any Manner related to Them. In answer to This I quoted two or three Passages from those Writings, undeniably level'd at the Person of his honourable Patron, who is stigmatized in them with the Name of the SCREEN. Mr. Walsingham's Reply to This deserves particular Notice. He says that the Papers, from which I made my Citations, were not written by the surviving Author, but by the late Mr. Trevellick. Now, for God's sake, what is This to the Purpose; or how does it prove the Truth of his Assertion, that CATO's Reasonings (as He express'd it in general Terms) did not relate, in any Manner, to the present Minister? I did not say that the surviving Author wrote those Papers; nor indeed is it of any Consequence to the Publick whether He did or not. It is the Matter of those Writings, on which I insisted and must continue to insist, (since it is brought into Dispute) without regarding by whom They were written; though it seems a little unaccountable how Mr. Walsingham should be able to make such a particular Distinction between the Writings of these two Gentlemen. I am very well assur'd that the surviving Author would scorn to give Him any such Authority. I am likewise confident that He despises the nauseous Adulation of this dirty, little Creature as heartily as I despise his Billingsgate Scurrility; which deserves another Kind of Answer, if it deserves any.

No Provocations therefore from such a Wretch shall ever tempt me to say any Thing unhandsome of a Gentleman, whom I admire as an excellent Writer and esteem as a Contender for Liberty; but I am not conscious of any Obligations, which I ly under to Him, as Walsingham suggests; nor do I think it any Breach of Friendship (as He is pleas'd to term a common Acquaintance) to justify my own Conduct by those Writings, which have been inviolably recommended and urged against Me. If even the strictest Friendship lays a Man under such a Restraint, no wife Man would ever contract any.

I was induced, for a particular Reason, to defer the Examination of this Point for one Week; and I am sorry that it is necessary at all; but the foolish Effrontery of Those, who have extoll'd the Design of CATO's Letters, in Derogation of the Craftsman, makes it incumbent upon me to vindicate my self. I shall do This, as concisely as possible, by shewing that there is hardly any material Point, which hath been objected to in one, and which may not be justify'd by something parallel in the other.

Let me only premise farther that the Publishers of these Volumes have dropt the original Dates, at the Head of each particular Paper; so that it is impossible for us directly to ascertain the Time, when They were first published; but according to the best Calculation I am able to make, I think I may venture to say that my Lord Sunderland dyed before the Conclusion of the second Volume.—If there was no particular Reason for omitting these Dates, I wish Men's Peace and Company would be so good as to restore them in the next Impression; because They are certainly of very great Use in judging of Papers, written upon particular Occasions, and especially upon political Subjects.

Mr. D'Anvers set out with asserting the Liberty of the Press and the Right of private Judgment in Matters of Government.—CATO's Letters abound with Claims of the same Kind and Arguments to the same Purpose; particularly in the following Passages.

"All Ministers, who were Oppressors, or intended to be Oppressors, have been loud in their Complaints against

"Freedom of Speech and the Licence of the Press; and all ways restrained, or endeavour'd to restrain both. In Consequence of This, They have brow-beaten Writers, and punished Them violently and against Law, and burnt their Works; by all which They showed how much Truth alon'd them, and how much They were at Enmity with Truth.

"Freedom of Speech being therefore of infinite Importance to the Preservation of Liberty; every one, who loves Liberty, ought to encourage Freedom of Speech. Hence it is that I, living in a Country of Liberty, and under the best Prince upon Earth, shall take this very favourable Opportunity of serving Mankind, by warning them of the hidden Mischiefs They will suffer, if ever corrupt and wicked Men shall hereafter get Possession of any State, and the Power of betraying their Master.—The whole Paper is upon this Subject and may be seen in Vol. 1. p. 97.

"But some have said, it is not the Business of private Men to meddle with Government; a bold, false and dishonest Saying; and whoever says it, either knows not what he says, or cares not, or slavishly speaks the Sense of others. It is a Cant now almost forgot in England, and which never prevailed, but when Liberty and the Constitution were attack'd, and never can prevail but upon the like Occasion.—It is, in short, a Saying, which ought to render the Man, who utters it, for ever incapable of Place, or Credit in a free Country, as it shews the Maliginity of his Heart, and the Baseness of his Nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a Doom upon our Constitution; a Crime, or rather a Complication of Crimes, for which a lasting Infamy ought to be but Part of the Punishment.—See the whole Paper, Vol. 1. p. 306.

Mr. D'Anvers hath frequently observed, in Justice to the People, that They commonly judge of publick Management, because They judge by their Feeling, and are not bias'd by Ambition.—Let us hear what CATO says upon the same Subject.

"In free Countries the People know all This. They have their five Senses in as great Perfection as have Those, who would treat Them as if They had none. They never hate their Governors, till their Governors deserve to be hated; and when This happens to be the Case, not absolute Power itself, nor the Affections of a Prince, involved with it, can protect and employ Ministers despised by the People.—Vol. 1. p. 184.

"Some will tell us, that This is setting up the Mob for Stetioners, and for the Confusers of States. The Word Mob does not at all move me, upon this Occasion, nor weaken the Grounds I go upon. It is certain that the whole People, who are the Publick, are the best Judges whether Things go ill or well with the Publick. It is true, They cannot all of Them see distant Dangers, nor watch the Motions and guess the Designs of neighbouring States; but every Citizen can judge, as well as a Statesman, whether He can sit peaceably in his Stall; whether He is paid for his Work; whether the Market, where He buys his Victuals, is well provided; and whether a Dragoon, or a Parish Officer comes to Him for his Taxes, if He pays any. Vol. 1. p. 88.

Mr. D'Anvers hath recommended political Jealousy; and to hatch CATO, who calls it a necessary and laudable Passion in the People.—Vol. 1. p. 267.

The Craftsman hath often ridicul'd the Complaints of the Court Writers against Libels, Malecontents and Inconveniences, when Men in Power give no just Occasion for Them.—CATO hath done the same, in many Places, besides the following.

"'Tis childish to say that a few Flies and Insects can raise a great Dust; or that as many disappointed and unprosper'd Men can shake a great Kingdom with a wise Prince at the Head of it, supported with such Power and Dependencies. A great Fire cannot be raised without Fuel; and the Materials, which make it, must have been combustible before. And if This is our Case, We ought to ask, how they came to be so, and who made them inflammable? Who laid the Gunpowder, as well as who fir'd, or intended to fire it.—Vol. III. p. 220.

"The best Way to prevent Libels is not to deserve them, and to despise them, and then they always lose their Force; for certain Experience shews us that the more Notice is taken of them, the more they are published. Guilty Men alone fear them, or are hurt by them, whose Actions will not bear Examination, and

"therefore must not be examined. 'Tis False alone, which annoys them; for if you will tell no Truth, I dare say you may have their Leave to tell as many Lies as you please.—Vol. III. p. 248.

The Craftsman hath frequently expos'd the Folly of Parties, and the knavish Designs of their Leaders.—The following Passages prove CATO to have been of the same Opinion in this Respect.

"It is high Time, at last, for the Bubbles of all Parties, for Whigs and Tories, for High-Church and Low-Church, to come to an Eclaircissement, and no longer suffer themselves to be bought and sold by their Drivers. Let them cease to be Calves and Sheep, and they will not be used like Calves and Sheep.

"Let us not therefore hereafter suffer ourselves to be set together by the Ears and make Crouds, which are the Harvest of Pickpockets. Let us learn to value an honest Man of another Party, more than a Knave of our own. Let the only Contention be who shall be most ready to spew out their own Rogues, and I will be answerable all other Differences will soon be at an End. Vol. I. p. 109.

"So wildly do Men run on to confound Names and Things! We call Men opprobriously Tories, for acting the best Part of Whiggism; and honourably christen ourselves Whigs, when we are openly acting the vilest Parts of Toryism; such Parts as the Tories never attempted to act. Vol. 3. p. 207.

D'Anvers complains that his Adversaries always blend the Measures of a Minister with the personal Interest of the Prince.—And does not CATO bear his Testimony against the same vile Artifice in several Places? Let the Reader judge of the following Passages.

"We have been told of the Times, and some Men now living do remember to have seen them, when unworthy Men, who by Faction and Treachery, by mean Compliances with Power, or by insolently daring of Authority, having raised Themselves to Wealth and Honour, and to the Power of betraying a considerable Trust, have had the provoking Satisfaction to call THEMSELVES the GOVERNMENT, and their own ROGUES his then MAJESTY'S MEASURES; and the next Thing was to pronounce all Those Enemies to his then Majesty who would endeavour to rescue their abused King and sinking Country out of their devouring and polluted Claws.—Vol. 1. p. 85.

"Before I have done, I would take Notice of another Mistake very common, concerning Loyalty. It is, indeed, a Trick, more than a Mistake; I mean of Those who would assert, or rather create a Sort of Loyalty to Ministers, and make every thing, which they did not like, an Offence against their Master.—The above is a Method, which bad Ministers have ever taken; but which good ones want not. Innocent Ministers will never prostitute the Name and Authority of the Prince, to protect their own Faults and Mistakes; and every wife and indifferent Man will be for preserving Him from the Imputation of the Guilt and Folly of his Servants; who, whenever they are thrusting in their Master between Themselves and the Censure, or Odium of their own Actions, do at once acknowledge that their own Actions are evil, and that they would barbarously and ungratefully make a Screen of their Sovereign, and save themselves upon his Ruin, or Disgrace.—Vol. I. p. 294.

The Craftsman hath used his utmost Endeavours to expose the iniquitous Traffic of Stockjobbing, and the dangerous Practices of exclusive Corporations.—CATO likewise hath bestow'd so many Papers upon this Subject, that it would be endless, and for that Reason is needless to quote any. I shall therefore only refer the Reader to two Papers (Vol. III. p. 169.) in which He hath proved exclusive Companies to be not only destructive of Trade, but dangerous to our Constitution, as they alter the Balance of our Government, too much influence our Legislature and are ever the Confederates, or Tools of ambitious and designing Statesmen.—It I remember right, the severe Reflections in these Discourses, which were published long after my Lord Sunderland's Death, induced somebody in Authority to buy off the Proprietors of the London Journal, and oblig'd CATO to set up another Paper.

It may be proper to put Mr. Walsingham in mind that, amongst other Complaints against Companies and Stockjobbing, He hath particularly condemn'd all collusive Bargains to raise South-Sea Stock above the real Value; particularly the BANK CONTRACT by Name, which



He calls, by an apparent Irony, *weakness and serviceable Bargain to the Publick*.—Vol. III. p. 191.—*The whole Paper, is upon that Subject.*

As to *Gibraltar*, every Body must remember with what Zeal the Writers of *Cato's Letters* express'd their high Notions of the Importance of that Place, and their Apprehensions of some clandestine Promises, or Stipulations for giving it up, or suffering it to be taken.—The very first Letter in the Collection is upon this important Point.

The *Craftsman* hath often express'd his Apprehensions of the Danger of large standing Armies in Times of Peace; but hath never yet enter'd very deep into that Subject; whereas there is scarce a Paper, upon any political Subject, in all *Cato's Letters*, in which They are not strongly condemn'd as the very Bane of all Liberty.—See his whole Series of Discourses upon Liberty and Tyranny. Vol. II. from p. 41 to p. 230.

Mr. D'Anvers hath been accused of treating Ministers, in general, too contemptuously and severely. Let us hear how *Cato* treats Them.

"Great Crimes protect Themselves and one another; so that, in Effect, Crimes are not always punished because They are Crimes, but because They are not mighty Crimes; nor in the inflicting of Punishments, hath the Offence, or the Offender been consider'd, but only the Figure of the Offender; who, if He was poor and necessitous, hath been put to Death; if great and ambitious, He hath been protected, or preferred. And thus it is that *Halters and Garters, Axes and whisks, Staves, Palaces and Dungeons* have been often miserably confounded and misplaced.—Vol. III. p. 18.

"Child, the Highwayman, robbed the Mail and was put to Death; but instead of the Mail had He robbed the Nation (I mean any Nation but This) He might probably have governed it; and instead of hanging in Chains, led a whole People in Chains, and been dubb'd an able Statesman and a faithful Minister.—Vol. 3. p. 196.

What an Outcry hath been made against Mr. D'Anvers, for justifying an accidental Expression against a Minister, in the Warmth of a Debate, which is call'd a *View of Destruction*? But it happens unluckily for these Writers, that *Cato* hath made Use of the same Expression, even in *Terminus*, in a premeditated Essay. It runs thus.

"Let us pursue to Disgrace, Destruction, and even Death, Those, who have brought this Ruin upon us, let them be ever so great, or ever so many.—They have made many bold, desperate, and wicked Attempts to destroy us. Let us strike one honest and bold Stroke to destroy Them.—Vol. I. p. 111.

Mr. D'Anvers hath inveighed very largely against Corruption; but hath He done it in stronger Terms than *Cato* inveighs against it in the following Paragraph?

"But even these corrupt Advantages are no longer to be had upon the same Terms. The Bow is stretched so far, that it must break, if it goes farther. Corruption, like all other Things, hath its Bounds, and must at last destroy itself, or destroy every thing else. We are already almost mortgaged from Head to Foot. There is scarce any Thing, which can be tax'd, that is not tax'd. Our Veins have been open'd and drain'd so long, that there is nothing left but our Heart's Blood.—Vol. III. p. 230.

Let us now see whether *Cato* hath not said as much upon the Article of pensionary and dependent Parliaments, as Mr. D'Anvers.

Having mark'd out some of the Methods, which bad Ministers take to enslave the People, He goes on thus.

"If such Measures should ever be taken in any free Country, where the People chuse Deputies to represent them, then They will endeavour to bribe the Electors in the Choice of their Representatives, and so to get a Council of their own Creatures; and where They cannot succeed with the Electors, They will endeavour to corrupt the Deputies, after they are chosen, with the Money given for the publick Defence; and to draw into the Perpetration of their Crimes those very Men, from whom the betrayed People expect the Redress of their Grievances and the Punishment of these Crimes. Vol. I. p. 117.

"I think, I may, with great Modesty affirm that, in former Reigns, the People of England found no sufficient Security in the Number of their Representatives. What with the Crowd of Offices in the Gift of the Crown, which were possessed by Men of no other Merit, nor held by any other Tenure, but merely a Capacity to get into the House of Commons, and the Disservice They could and would do their Country there; what with the Promises and Expectations given to others, who by Court-Influence, and often by Court-Money, carried their Elections; what by artful Careless, and the flatterer and deceitful Addresses of great Men to weak Men; what with luxurious Dinners, and Rivers of Burgundy, Champagne and Tokay thrown down the Throats of Gluttons; and what with Pensions and other personal Gratifications, bestowed where Wind and Smoke would not pass for current Coin; what with Party Watch Words and imaginary Terrors spread amongst the drunken Squires and the

deluded and enthusiastick Bigots, of dreadful Designs in Embrio to blow up the Church and the Protestant Interest; and sometimes with the Dread of mighty Invasions just ready to break upon us from the Man in the Moon; I say, by all these corrupt Arts, the Representatives of the English People, in former Reigns, have been brought to betray the People, and to join with their Oppressors.—Vol. 2. p. 65.

I will quote one Passage more, because it is exactly agreeable to what I have formerly observed, concerning Majorities and Minorities.

"It is a mistaken Notion in Government, that the Interest of the Majority is only to be consulted; since in Society every Man hath a Right to every Man's Assistance in the Enjoyment and Defence of his private Property, otherwise the greater Number may sell the lesser and divide their Estates among themselves; and so, instead of a Society, where all peaceable Men are protected, become a Conspiracy of the many against the Minority.—Vol. 2. p. 73.

This was *Cato's* Sense of former Parliaments; and He seems to be apprehensive that it might be the Case of modern Parliaments by his warm Exhortations to the Electors.—See Vol. 2. p. 164.

Another heavy Charge against Mr. D'Anvers is, that He hath spoke disrespectfully of Kings in general, and particularly of their late and present Majesties, by asserting that Kings are the Servants of the People, and that the present royal Family inherit the Crown by no other Tenure, than the Consent and Authority of the People assembled in Parliament.—Let us see therefore whether *Cato* hath not advanced the same Doctrines, even in much stronger Terms.—Concerning Kings, in general, He speaks thus.

"Nations are then free, when their Magistrates are their Servants; and then Slaves, when their Magistrates are their Masters. The Commonwealth does not belong to Them, but They belong to the Commonwealth. Vol. 3. p. 78.

"We have Instances of Princes, who, to gratify the Ambition and Rapine of a few jerry Servants, have lost the Hearts of their whole People, and detach'd Themself from their good Subjects, to protect those Men in their Iniquity; who yet had done Them no other Service, but That of destroying their Reputation and shaking their Throne.—Vol. II. p. 88.

"I have been told of a Prince, who, whilst yet under Age, being reproved by his Governor for doing Things ill, or indecent, used to answer, *Je suis Roy*. I am King; as if his Quality had altered the Nature of Things, and He Himself had been better than other Men, whilst He acted worse. But He spoke from that Spirit, which had been instill'd into Him from his Cradle. I am King! and what then, Sir? The Office of a King is not to do Evil, but to prevent it. You have royal Blood in your Veins; but the Blood of your Page is, without being royal, as good as yours; or, if you doubt, try the Difference in a Couple of Porringers, next Time you are ill, and learn from this Consideration and Experiment, that by Nature you are no better than your People, though subject from your Fortune to be worse, as many of your Ancestors have been.—Vol. II. p. 279.

Concerning the Title of the present royal Family, He delivers Himself in these remarkable Words.

"With Thanks to God, I own We have a Prince so sensible of this Right (viz. the Right of the People) and who owes his Crown so intirely to the Principles laid down, and I think fully proved, in these Letters; that it is impossible to suspect, either from his Inclinations, his Interest, or his known Justice, that He should ever fall into any Measures to destroy that People, who have given Him his Crown, and supported him in it with so much Generosity and Expence; or that He should undermine, by those Means, the Ground upon which He stands.—This is contrary to the Tenor of his whole Life and Actions; who, as He hath received three Crowns from their Gift, so He lies under all the Ties of Generosity, Gratitude and Duty to cherish and protect them, and to make them always great, free and happy.—Vol. II. p. 68.

Mr. D'Anvers hath been accused of a Kind of Treason, for only glancing, now and then, at some Speeches from the Throne; but where hath He taken the same Liberties with them, which *Cato* hath taken (and, indeed, I think very justly) with his late Majesty's Speech, at the Beginning of the Session, in the Year 1721; and with the Order of Council, in the same Year, against the Hell-Fire Clubs?—See Vol. I. p. 36—224.

I could likewise produce several Passages out of *Cato's Letters*, in which He hath spoken of foreign Dominions in the same Manner with *myself*, and argued against making the Interest of Great Britain subservient to Them;—but my Paper is already extended to a great Length, and it would be endless to exhaust this Subject.

I have already shewn, and I think undeniably, that *Cato's Letters* are liable to the same Objections with the Writings of the *Craftsman* in every material Article; unless it is expected that we should likewise produce Authorities out of these Letters to justify what we have

said concerning the Treaties of *Hanover, Seville, &c.* the *Hessian Troops*, the *Wolfenbuttel Subsidies*, the *Irish Recruits*, the late Depredations on our Merchants in the *West Indies*, the violated Honour of the *British Flag*, the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, the new Works of the *Spaniards* about *Gibraltar*, the pragmatick Sanction, the Engagements and Operations in Favour of *Don Carlos*, and several other Topics of political Debate, which did not exist whilst *Cato* was writing.

Having, I say, undeniably shewn the Concurrence of *Cato* and *Me*, in every Point, in which it can be supposed we should concur, I will add one more Passage, in which our joint Complaints are recapitulated and sum'd up in the following Words, which I have formerly quoted, addressed to the *Fraudholders of Great Britain*.

"Let us not therefore, my Countrymen, desert or deceive our selves, or think We can be safe, if ever such Men (viz. Pensioners, Placemen and Dependents) can get into Power. Let us not again be deluded with false Promises and deceitful Assurances; but let us judge what Men will do by what they have done. What warm and plausible Remonstrances have you formerly heard and received? What impetuous Storms and Hurricanes of false and counterfeit Zeal against Oppressions and Mismanagements in the late Reigns; against exorbitant Pensions, outrageous Taxes, wild and expensive Expeditions; against increasing the publick Debts; against standing Troops, quarter'd up and down your Countries; against oppressive Companies, to the Destruction of your Trade and Industry; against private Mens raising immense Estates upon your Ruin; and against their bribing and corrupting the Guardians of the publick Liberty?—And are you, at last, perfectly easy in every one of those Complaints? Vol. 2. p. 167.

I don't know whether all these Quotations will yet convince *Osborne* and *Walsingham* of their monstrous Indifference, in urging these Writings against *Me*; though the *Hypocrite* and the *Flying-Post* (who are infinitely better Writers than They) have already done me Justice in this Point, by putting *Cato* and the *Craftsman* on the same Foot; I mean, as *saturnian* Incenariaries. Nay, the *Latter* hath even given us large Extracts from a Pamphlet, published against *Cato's Letters* at the Time, when They came out in single Papers; by which it appears that the very fine Objections were actually made against Him and his Patron, which are now made against *Me* and the *Gentleman*, whom They do me the Honour to call my Patron. But *Osborne* and *Walsingham* are such incorrigible Blunderers, and always persist so steadily in their Blunders, when They are the most fully detected, that I despair of drawing any Acknowledgements of Conviction from Them. Let Them therefore blunder on and, with shameless Obstinacy, triumph in their Blunders.—It can hurt nobody but Themselfes.

Indeed, the only Difference between the Authors of *Cato's Letters* and the Writers of the *Craftsman* is, that We have not yet gone so far in many Points as They have done; especially in our Reflections upon Men in Power; for though We have often call'd very loudly for national Justice and Vengeance on wicked Ministers, the Plunderers and Oppressors of their Country; yet, I think, We have never made Use of such sanguinary Expressions as *Halters and Axes, Gibbets and Scaffolds*; much less have We brought the Perion of *Jack Ketch* upon the Stage, pleading his butcherly Right to the Necks and Heads of GREAT OFFENDERS, and complaining of Injustice for Want of Business.—Had We ever taken such Liberties, what a Parcel of bloody-minded Fellows should We have been call'd?—Why, the famous *Vow of Destruction*, and even the solemn League and Covenant itself are not half so bad!

I could go farther; a great deal farther.—But I forbear; and heartily wish that I had not been obliged to go so far; but if any invidious Constructions should be put upon the Passages, which I have quoted, let those Persons answer for it, who either through *Folly*, or *Treachery*, or both, have brought this Dispute upon the Carpet, and laid me under an Obligation of trying my own Conduct by the *To chaff*, which they have produced.

I shall add but one Thing more. If the Writings of the *Craftsman* are, in some Respects, more personal than *Cato's Letters*, it must be imputed to those personal Reflections, which made a Reply of the same Nature necessary to Self-Vindication.—Besides, it ought to be consider'd that *Cato's Letters* appear the less personal now by the very Distance of Time, and to its being forgot, by the Generality of People, on what Occasions they were written, and to what particular Points they alluded.

I ask Pardon of my Readers for detaining them so long; but I chose to do it, at present, that I might have no Occasion to trouble them any more on this Subject. The Point now lies before the Publick, to whom We have both appeal'd, and by whom it must be decided. I desire nothing more than to stand, or fall, upon the Issue of it; for if the means of the People, even the very Mob Themselfes, can be imposed upon in a Point of this Nature, they must really be as void of common Understanding as their *Adversaries* have represented them, and all Kind of Reasoning would be utterly thrown away upon them.